

Message Text

SECRET

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42

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /031 W

----- 109004

P 121310Z OCT 74

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2240

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0105

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMENTS ON SOVIET OCTOBER 11 STATEMENT (SALT TWO-465)

1. SOVIET OCTOBER 11 STATEMENT, WHILE IN LARGE PART A REPETITION OF PREVIOUS SOVIET POSITIONS, DOES REPRESENT A REFORMULATION OF SOME OF THOSE PRSITIONS -- INCLUDING SOME FROM SALT ONE -- ON AGGREGATE LEVELS, COMPENSATION, FBS, AND REDUCTIONS.

2. WHILE STATEMENT PROPOSES A "MAXIMUM AGGREGATE QUANTITATIVE LEVEL", REPEAT LEVEL, FOR ICEM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND "STRATEGIC BOMBERS", THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND PROTOCOL LIMITATIONS ON ICEM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND SSBN'S WOULD BE CARRIED FORWARD AS SUB-LEVELS. LATER, STATEMENT ASSERTED THAT "IN DETERMINING SPECIFIC VALUES OF THE MAXIMUM AGGREGATE QUANTITATIVE LEVELS", REPEAT LEVELS, FOR THE SIDES ON ICEM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND STRATEGIC BOMBERS, IT IS NECES- SARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT FORWARD BASED NUCLEAR SYSTEMS, DELIVERY ARICRAFT ABOARD CARRIERS, THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES, AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS.

3. STATEMENT DOES NOT DEAL WITH HOW BOMBER LEVELS WITHIN THE AGGREGATE LEVEL WOULD BE DETERMINED. WHILE USE OF SINGULAR "LEVEL" IN FIRST FORMULATION MIGHT IMPLY A SINGLE EQUAL AGGREGATE FOR BOTH SIDES, THE LATER USE OF THE PLURAL "LEVELS" SEEMS TO IMPLY DIFFERING LEVELS FOR THE TWO SIDES. MY EFFORT IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH SEMENOV TO CLARIFY THIS WAS UNAVAILING. IN ANY EVENT, EVEN IF THERE WERE TO BE A SINGLE EQUAL LEVEL FOR BOTH SIDES, SOVIET FORMULATION FOR "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT" FBS WOULD REQUIRE INCLUDING A FIGURE FOR FBS IN U.S. TOTAL TO REACH SOVIET LEVEL. ALTERNATIVELY, IF FBS NOT COUNTED IN U.S. TOTAL, SOVIET MAINTAIN BASIS FOR COMPENSATION FOR FBS IN UNEQUAL AGGREGATES FAVORING THEM.

4. ON TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES, SOVIETS EMPHASIZE THAT DURING THE PERIOD OF THE NEW AGREEMENT THEY WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT BUILDUP IN THE NUMBERS OF MODERS BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES "IN THIRD COUNTRIES", AND WILL "RESERVE THE RIGHT" TO A CORRESPONDING INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SOVIET SUBMARINES. THIS REPRESENTS AN EXPANSION OF SOVIET MAY 17, 1972 UNILATERAL STATEMENT WHICH APPLIED TO POSSIBLE SSBN INCREASES BY "U.S. ALLIES IN NATO". EXPANDED VERSION WOULD ENCOMPASS CHINA IN 1985 TIME FRAME.

5. IN TAKING GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS INTO ACCOUNT, SOVIETS INVOKE U.S. ON-STATION ADVANTAGE FOR SSBN'S AT RATIO OF TWO TO THREE.

6. IN CAREFULLY HEDGED STATEMENT ON REDUCTIONS, SOVIETS ASSERT THAT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT "EVERYTHING" IN OCTOBER 11 STATEMENT AS WELL AS EARLIER, "...PROVISIONS FOR SOME REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS" COULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGREEMENT ON STRICT BASIS OF EQUAL SECURITY AND NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. THUS, MAGNITUDE OF REDUCTIONS AND TYPES OF SYSTEMS TO BE REDUCED ARE LEFT OPEN. JOHNSON

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), MILITARY AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: shawdg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974SALTT00105
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740291-0523
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741049/aaaabptr.tel
Line Count: 95
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 MAY 2002 by garlanwa>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COMENTS ON SOVIET OCTOBER 11 STATEMENT (SALT TWO-465)
TAGS: PARM, UR, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005